

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 01 OF 12 181124Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----069821 181134Z /15

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3100
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
SUBJ: MBFR: INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES
OF JULY 17, 1978

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE JULY 17, 1978 INFORMA
SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED
BY THE BELGIAN REP, UK REP AND US DEPREP, AND THE EAST
BY SOVIET REPS TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, POLISH REP STRULAK, AND
CZECHOSLOVAK REP KEBLUSEK. MILITARY ADVISORS WERE ALSO
PRESENT.

2. THE SESSION BROUGHT RELATIVELY LITTLE NEW AS FAR
AS INFORMATION OR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EASTERN POSITION WAS
CONCERNED. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES DESCRIBED POINTS OF
AGREEMENT WHICH THEY SAW BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND EASTERN
POSITIONS FOLLOWING THE EAST'S JUNE 8 PROPOSALS, DESCRIBED
OTHER POINTS IN THE EASTERN POSITION WHICH THEY BELIEVED
SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN AN AGREEMENT, CRITICIZED THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 01 OF 12 181124Z

WESTERN CONDUCT OF THE DATA DISCUSSION AS LEADING NOWHERE,
ANSWERED SOME WESTERN POINTS ON DATA AND ASKED MORE QUESTIONS
ABOUT WESTERN DATA. WESTERN REPS SAID THE EAST'S PROPOSALS
OF 8 JUNE OFFERED FAR LESS IN THE WAY OF REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS
THAN THE WEST WAS ASKING FROM THE EAST AND THAN THE OBLIGATIONS
THAT THE WEST WAS WILLING TO UNDERTAKE FOR ITSELF, DESCRIBED
THE PROVISIONS OF A POSSIBLE AGREEMENT ON WHICH THE GEOGRAPHIC

FACTOR HAD THE GREATEST IMPACT, MADE THE POINT THAT THE SOVIET AND POLISH FIGURES FOR PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS WERE INSUFFICIENT TO STAFF NOT ONLY POLISH AND SOVIET DIVISIONS BUT ALL THE REMAINING TYPES OF PERSONNEL WHICH THE EAST HAD STATED WERE COUNTED UNDER MAJOR FORMATIONS, AND PROVISIONALLY ANSWERED NEW EASTERN DATA QUESTIONS.

3. BELGIAN REP SAID THE VALUE OF THE EASTERN REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS WHICH THE EAST HAD OFFERED TO UNDERTAKE IN ITS JUNE 8 PROPOSALS WERE FAR LESS THAN WHAT THE WEST HAD ASKED AND FAR LESS THAN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH THE WEST HAD OFFERED TO UNDERTAKE FOR ITSELF. THUS, THE PACKAGE OF REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS/LIMITATIONS WHICH THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS PROPOSED ON JUNE 8 FOR BOTH SIDES WAS UNBALANCED AND FAR FROM EQUITABLE. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS SHOULD RE-EXAMINE THE PACKAGE THEY HAD PROPOSED.

4. POLISH REP CLAIMED THAT NOW THAT THE EAST'S JUNE 8 PROPOSALS HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD, PARTICIPANTS BEFORE THEM A RATHER CLEAR OUTCOME OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT REFLECTED IN A NUMBER OF PROVISIONS WHICH IN THE EAST'S VIEW SHOULD FORM THE BASIS OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT: (1) THAT GROUND FORCES WILL BE REDUCED IN ORDER TO REACH AN OVERALL LEVEL OF ARMED FORCES AT 900,000 MEN FOR EACH SIDE, INCLUDING 700,000 MEN IN GROUND FORCES. BOTH SIDES WERE IN NEAR AGREEMENT AS TO THE PERIOD OF TIME DURING WHICH THESE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 01 OF 12 181124Z

REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE. (2) THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF BOTH ALLIANCES SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AT COLLECTIVE LEVELS FOLLOWING REDUCTIONS. (3) THE FINAL OUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS WOULD BE ACHIEVED IN TWO STAGES WITH THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION REDUCING FIRST. (4) ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD TAKE PART IN THE REDUCTION OF FORCES IN THE SECOND STAGE. THE PRACTICAL DETAILS OF SUCH REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE WORKED OUT IN THE SECOND STAGE NEGOTIATIONS. (5) ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS IN STAGE 1 SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT ON A SELECTIVE BASIS AND EAST AND WEST AGREED ON THE TYPES OF ARMAMENTS TO BE REDUCED.

5. UK REP PRESENTED SOME SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF PROVISIONS OF AN AGREEMENT WHICH SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF GEOGRAPHY: (1) AN AGREEMENT SHOULD CONTAIN A PROVISION PLACING SPECIFIC LIMITATIONS ON THAT PORTION OF THEIR MILITARY MANPOWER WHICH THE US AND THE USSR MAINTAIN IN THE REDUCTION AREA. (2) A FURTHER PROVISION REFLECTING THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR WOULD BE ONE AS PROPOSED BY THE WEST RESTRICTING WESTERN COMMITMENTS ON ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS ON A PHASE I AGREEMENT TO THOSE PROPOSED FOR THE US. (3) A PROVISION WHOSE PRACTICAL EFFECT WOULD BE TO ELIMINATE

THE EAST'S SUPERIORITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE REDUCTION AREA. (4) UK REP SAID THE EAST'S FAILURE TO TAKE GEOGRAPHY INTO ACCOUNT IN THE PROVISIONS OF AN AGREEMENT WAS A MAJOR UNDERLYING SOURCE OF MANY OF THE DEFICIENCIES IN THE EAST'S JUNE 8 PROPOSALS.

6. CZECHOSLIVAK REP SAID THAT, IN PRESENTING THEIR JUNE 8 PROPOSALS, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE NOT FOLLOWING THE ALL OR NOTHING PRINCIPLE AND WERE PREPARED TO CONSIDER TENTATIVELY ALL CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS WHICH THE WEST MIGHT RAISE.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 02 OF 12 181244Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----070638 181246Z /43

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3101
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

BUT WESTERN REPS SHOULD CLEARLY REALIZE THAT THE EAST CONSIDERED SEVERAL PROVISIONS INDISPENSABLE FOR AN AGREEMENT: (1) REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT SHOULD GUARANTEE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS AND SHOULD SPECIFY THE CONCRETE VOLUME OF REDUCTIONS FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT. (2) THE EAST WAS NOT ASKING FOR NATIONAL CEILINGS BUT REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE EFFECTIVE. ESTABLISHMENT OF COLLECTIVE LEVELS SHOULD NOT PERMIT PARTICIPANTS TO RESTORE THEIR FORCES TO THEIR PREVIOUS LEVEL. (3) THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY MEANT THAT THE USSR WOULD NOT ACCEPT A DISCRIMINATORY NATIONAL CEILING. IF THE WEST WANTED A NATIONAL CEILING FOR THE USSR, IT COULD HAVE IT, BUT THEN IT WOULD HAVE TO APPLY TO ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

(4) REDUCTIONS SHOULD INCLUDE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. 5) THERE SHOULD BE REDUCTIONS BY

UNITS. (6) THERE SHOULD BE A FREEZE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. CZECHOSLOVAK REP CLOSED WITH APPEAL TO THE WEST TO GIVE POSITIVE CONSIDERATION TO THE MAIN POINTS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 02 OF 12 181244Z

OF EASTERN INTEREST AS THE EAST HAD DONE FOR THE WEST.

7. TARASOV CONTENDED THAT INTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF DATA IN THE PRESENT ROUND HAD ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THAT THE WEST WAS UNABLE TO PROVE THE EXISTENCE OF A DISPARITY IN FAVOR OF THE EAST. THE EAST WAS NOT SURPRISED AT THIS OUTCOME SINCE THE DISPARITY DID NOT EXIST. IN SUCH A SITUATION, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN LOGICAL TO EXPECT THE WEST TO ABANDON ITS FIGURES, BUT THE WEST HAD NOT. THE CONTINUATION OF THE DATA DISCUSSION IN THE FORM IN WHICH IT HAD BEEN PURSUED IN THE PRESENT ROUND WAS BECOMING EVEN MORE POINTLESS LEADING TO DRAGGING OUT THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE EAST HAD VAINLY ASKED THE WEST TO DESCRIBE HOW IT COUNTED EASTERN FORCES. THE EAST HAD VAINLY ASKED THE WEST TO PROVIDE ITS ESTIMATES OF EASTERN FORCES. WESTERN REPS HAD NOT YET RESPONDED HERE EITHER. THE EAST ALSO HAD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT AN EXCHANGE OF DATA ON THE PERCENTAGE OF FORCE MANNING WOULD BE HELPFUL AND HAD PROPOSED THIS A YEAR AGO, BUT HERE TOO HAD RECEIVED NO ANSWER FROM THE WEST. EASTERN REPS BELIEVED THAT A MAJOR CONDITION FOR PROGRESS IN THE DATA WAS A MORE SERIOUS AND WELL-FOUNDED EXPLANATION OF ITS ESTIMATES BY THE WEST.

8. TARASOV CLOSED WITH SOME QUESTIONS ON WESTERN DATA THAT CONCERNED POSITIONS WHICH COULD BE FILLED BY BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN PERSONNEL AND WESTERN FORCES; WHETHER PERSONNEL OF TRAINING UNITS PERMANENTLY ASSIGNED OUTSIDE OF THE AREA SHOULD BE COUNTED; AND WHETHER THE WEST HAD COUNTED SOME PERSONNEL OF BORDER GUARDS AND OTHER EXCLUDED ORGANIZATIONS IN ITS FIGURES FOR WARSAW PACT ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL. US DEP REP GAVE PRELIMINARY RESPONSES. END SUMMARY

9. BELGIAN REP AS HOST GREETED THE PARTICIPANTS.
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 02 OF 12 181244Z

DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, HE SAID THAT HE WISHED TO COMMENT TODAY ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TOTAL BURDEN OF OBLIGATIONS WHICH BOTH SIDES WOULD UNDERTAKE UNDER WESTERN PROPOSALS AND TO COMPARE THIS WITH THE BURDEN OF THE OBLIGATIONS FOR BOTH SIDES SUGGESTED IN THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF JUNE 8. THESE COMMENTS WOULD ALSO

SERVE AS THE WESTERN REPLY TO REMARKS MADE BY AMBASSADOR
KEBLUSEK AT THE JULY 4 INFORMAL SESSION CONCERNING THE
MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EAST'S JUNE 8 PROPOSALS.

10. BELGIAN REP STATED THAT THE WESTERN PROPOSALS
OF NOVEMBER 1973 HAD PROVIDED FOR MILITARILY IMPORTANT
WESTERN MANPOWER REDUCTIONS TO A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING
ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. IT WAS A FACT THAT A
VERY LARGE NUMBER OF SOVIET FORCES WHICH WOULD BE INVOLVED
AT THE OUTSET OF A POSSIBLE CONFLICT IN THE REDUCTION AREA
WERE LOCATED IN THE ADJOINING USSR, WHERE THEY WOULD NOT
BE REDUCED OR LIMITED AS TO SIZE. DESPITE THIS IMPORTANT
FACT, THE WEST HAD STATED ITS AGREEMENT TO REDUCE ITS
MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE REDUCTION AREA AND TO KEEP IT AT
THE SAME OVERALL LEVEL AS THAT OF THE WARSAW PACT IN THE
AREA. IN DECEMBER 1975, THE WEST HAD OFFERED TO ADD TO
THESE REDUCTIONS THE WITHDRAWAL IN PHASE I OF SUBSTANTIAL
NUMBERS OF THE TWO MOST SIGNIFICANT US NUCLEAR DELIVERY
SYSTEMS IN THE AREA, THAT IS, 54 NUCLEAR-CAPABLE F-4 AIRCRAFT
AND 36 PERSHING BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS. THE WEST HAD

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 03 OF 12 181140Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----069947 181208Z /43

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3102
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

ALSO OFFERED TO WITHDRAW 1,000 US NUCLEAR WARHEADS,
REPRESENTING ENORMOUS DESTRUCTIVE POWER. MOREOVER, THE
WEST HAD OFFERED TO LIMIT THE RESIDUAL LEVEL OF US NUCLEAR
ARMAMENTS OF THE TYPE WITHDRAWN. THIS LIMITATION WOULD BE

OF GREAT AND ENDURING IMPORTANCE.

11. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT THE WEST HAD MADE THIS SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED OFFER IN RETURN FOR EASTERN AGREEMENT TO THE SAME REDUCTIONS THE WEST HAD PROPOSED FOR THE EAST AT THE OUTSET OF THESE TALKS, THAT IS, EASTERN REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER FROM THE EXISTING LEVEL OF APPROXIMATELY 925,000 MEN IN 1973 FIGURES TO A COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING, WITH A LIMIT ON SOVIET MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA AT THE POST-REDUCTION LEVEL, AND FOR SOVIET PHASE I WITHDRAWALS OF AN ENTIRE SOVIET TANK ARMY WITH ALL ITS PERSONNEL AND ARMAMENTS. THE REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS THE WEST HAD OFFERED WERE OF VERY GREAT WEIGHT, BOTH IN THEMSELVES, AND WHEN EVALUATED IN THE ACTUAL GEOGRAPHIC CONTEXT IN WHICH THEY WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN. THE OVERALL
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 03 OF 12 181140Z

BURDEN OF COMMITMENTS FOR REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS WHICH THE WEST HAD OFFERED TO UNDERTAKE IN DECEMBER 1975 WAS CLEARLY AT LEAST AS WEIGHTY AS THE BURDEN THE WEST HAD ASKED THE EAST TO ASSUME.

12. BELGIAN REP STATED THAT THE MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OBLIGATIONS TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE WEST, AND THE CORRESPONDING REQUIREMENT FOR EASTERN OBLIGATIONS WHICH WOULD PRODUCE AN EQUITABLE OUTCOME, WOULD HAVE FULLY ENTITLED THE WEST TO MAINTAIN ITS CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF AN ENTIRE SOVIET TANK ARMY WITH ALL ITS ARMAMENTS. NEVERTHELESS, IN AN EFFORT TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD, AND AS A GENUINE COMPROMISE, THE WEST HAD OFFERED ON APRIL 19 MORE BURDENSOME PHASE I OBLIGATIONS FOR THE WEST. IT HAD ALSO OFFERED A MAJOR RELAXATION OF THE PHASE I REQUIREMENTS ON THE USSR, WHICH WOULD NOW BE OBLIGED TO WITHDRAW NOT AN ENTIRE TANK ARMY WITH ALL ITS ARMAMENTS, BUT 68,000 SOLDIERS, FIVE DIVISIONS, AND 1,700 MAIN BATTLE TANKS, WITH LIMITS BEING PLACED ON THE RESIDUAL LEVEL OF ITS MANPOWER AND TANKS.

13. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT THE VALUE OF THE OBLIGATIONS FOR EASTERN REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS WHICH THE EAST HAD NOW OFFERED TO UNDERTAKE IN ITS JUNE 8 PROPOSAL WAS FAR LESS THAN WHAT THE WEST HAD ASKED. IT WAS THUS MANIFESTLY FAR LESS THAN THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH THE WEST HAD OFFERED TO UNDERTAKE, OBLIGATIONS WHICH THE EAST IN ITS PROPOSALS HAD SUGGESTED BE ACCEPTED IN FULL. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS IN THEIR JUNE 8 PROPOSAL HAD OFFERED TO WITHDRAW ONLY A TOTAL OF 105,000 MEN IN BOTH STAGES. MOREOVER, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD OFFERED IN THE FIRST STAGE TO WITHDRAW ONLY 30,000 SOVIET SOLDIERS, TWO DIVISIONS, PLUS ADDITIONAL UNITS AND SUBUNITS, AND 1,000 TANKS AND 250 MECHANIZED INFANTRY COMBAT VEHICLES. FURTHERMORE, THE EAST WAS PROPOSING THAT THE WEST ASSUME ADDITIONAL WEIGHTY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 03 OF 12 181140Z

OBLIGATIONS IN THE FORM OF A TYPE OF NATIONAL CEILINGS, AND THE FURTHER REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND REDUCTION BY UNITS IN PHASE II, WITH LIMITATIONS ON BOTH ARMAMENT AND UNITS. THUS, THE PACKAGE OF REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OBLIGATIONS WHICH EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD PROPOSED ON JUNE 8 WAS UNBALANCED AND FAR FROM EQUITABLE. WESTERN REPS BELIEVED THESE REMARKS SHOWED THAT THERE WAS A NEED FOR EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO RE-EXAMINE THE PACKAGE THEY HAD PROPOSED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF BALANCE.

14. POLISH REP SAID THAT, SINCE THE PRESENT SESSION WAS THE LAST ONE IN THE FIFTEENTH ROUND, IT SEEMED APPROPRIATE TO SUM UP SOME OF THE RESULTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS' WORK DURING THE ROUND. NOW PARTICIPANTS DID ADMIT THAT THIS PAST ROUND HAD BEEN MORE ACTIVE THAN MANY PREVIOUS ONES, THIS MIGHT BE EXPLAINED BY THE FACT THAT, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ROUND, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD SUBMITTED AN IMPORTANT AND INDEED FAR-REACHING PROPOSAL WHICH DEALT WITH ALMOST THE WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. IN PLENARY SESSIONS AS WELL AS IN INFORMAL SESSIONS HELD FOLLOWING JUNE 8, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD GIVEN DETAILED EXPLANATIONS CONCERNING THEIR INITIATIVE. IN THE PRESENT SESSION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WISHED TO OFFER SOME ADDITIONAL COMMENTS TO MAKE EVEN MORE CLEAR THE SUBSTANCE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSALS AS WELL AS THE MOTIVES WHICH GUIDED EASTERN PARTICIPANTS IN THEIR SUBMISSION.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 04 OF 12 181214Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----070354 181215Z /43

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3103
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL
USCINCEUR VAIGHINGEN GER

S E C R E T SECTION 4 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

15. POLISH REP SAID, THAT, BY TABLING THE 8 JUNE PROPOSALS, THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD INTENDED IN THE FIRST PLACE TO OUTLINE THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT AND TO OPEN UP A WAY TO PRACTICAL NEGOTIATION ON WORKING OUT THE TEXT OF A DOCUMENT ON WHICH A GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAD ALREADY BEEN CARRIED ON FOR ALMOST FIVE YEARS. HAVING THESE OBJECTIVES IN MIND, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD DECIDED TO MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE USE OF

THE CHANGES IN THE WESTERN POSITION MADE IN 19 APRIL, SINCE, UNDER AN OBJECTIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE SCRUTINY, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD FOUND SOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN IT.

16. POLISH REP SAID THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT THE OBJECTIVE THEY HAD PURSUED IN DRAFTING THEIR INITIATIVE HAD ACTUALLY BEEN ACHIEVED. PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS NOW HAD BEFORE THEM A RATHER CLEAR OUTLINE OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT. THIS WAS REFLECTED IN A NUMBER OF PROVISIONS WHICH IN THE EASTERN VIEW SHOULD FORM
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 04 OF 12 181214Z

THE BASIS FOR A FUTURE AGREEMENT:

17. POLISH REP SAID, FIRST, WHILE UNTIL RECENTLY, PARTICIPANTS HAD BEEN DISCUSSING ONLY IN GENERAL TERMS THE FINAL OUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, A BROAD MEASURE OF UNDERSTANDING COULD NOW BE NOTED IN THIS RESPECT. IT WAS AGREED THAT GROUND FORCES WOULD BE REDUCED IN ORDER TO REACH AN OVERALL LEVEL OF ARMED FORCES AT 900,000 MEN FOR EACH SIDE, INCLUDING 700,000 MEN IN GROUND FORCES. THERE WAS ALSO NO SERIOUS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON THE QUESTION OF WHEN THE FINAL OUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE REACHED.

18. POLISH REP SAID, THAT SECOND, THERE ALSO EXISTED BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS OF EAST AND WEST A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING THAT THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE GROUND FORCES OF BOTH GROUPINGS AFTER THE REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AT COLLECTIVE LEVELS UNDER WHICH, IN THE EVENT OF A UNILATERAL REDUCTION BY SOME COUNTRY OR COUNTRIES, OTHER STATES BELONGING TO THE SAME ALLIANCE COULD INCREASE THEIR FORCES IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE OVERALL COLLECTIVE LEVEL WITHIN

THE AGREED LIMITS.

19. POLISH REP SAID THAT, THIRD, THE FINAL OUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS WOULD BE ACHIEVED IN TWO STAGES. THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE THE FIRST TO START LOWERING THE LEVELS OF THEIR GROUND FORCES AND WOULD REDUCE THEM PROPORTIONATELY TO THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THERE WAS ALSO NO DIVERGENCY OF OPINION BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS AS TO THE CONTINUATION OF REDUCTIONS BY THE USSR AND THE USA IN THE SECOND STAGE.

20. POLISH REP SAID THAT, FOURTH, ALL DIRECT PARTICIPATING
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 04 OF 12 181214Z

STATES WOULD TAKE PART IN THE REDUCTION OF FORCES IN THE SECOND STAGE. PRACTICAL DETAILS CONCERNING SUCH REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE WORKED OUT DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SECOND STAGE. ONE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN A BETTER ATMOSPHERE THAN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FIRST STAGE, BECAUSE, AS A CONSEQUENCE OF A FIRST STAGE AGREEMENT, A PART OF THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN FORCES WOULD HAVE BEEN REDUCED BY THAT TIME.

21. POLISH REP CONTINUED, FIFTH, BOTH SIDES PRESENTLY HELD THE SAME VIEW THAT, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A FIRST STAGE AGREEMENT, REDUCTIONS OF ARMAMENTS SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT ON A SELECTIVE BASIS, AND THE VIEWS OF EAST AND WEST ALSO COINCIDED ON THE QUESTION OF WHAT TYPES OF ARMAMENTS SHOULD BE REDUCED.

22. DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, UK REP SAID THAT AT THE JULY 11 INFORMAL SESSION, AMBASSADOR TARASOV HAD STATED THAT EASTERN REPS HAD NOT YET RECEIVED A CLEAR IDEA FROM WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ABOUT WHICH SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OR ASPECTS OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR AND IN WHAT WAY. HE HAD INVITED WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO COMMENT ON THIS TOPIC. WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE FORM OF A POSSIBLE AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS, AND WITHOUT BEING EXHAUSTIVE, WESTERN REPS WISHED TO PRESENT ON THIS OCCASION SOME SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF PROVISIONS OF AN AGREEMENT WHICH SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF GEOGRAPHY.

23. UK REP STATED THAT FIRST, AN AGREEMENT SHOULD CONTAIN A PROVISION PLACING SPECIFIC LIMITATIONS ON THAT PORTION OF THEIR MILITARY MANPOWER WHICH THE US AND USSR MAINTAINED IN THE REDUCTION AREA. AS WESTERN REPS HAD POINTED OUT, WESTERN MILITARY PLANNERS MUST ASSUME THAT AT THE OUTSET OF A POSSIBLE CONFLICT IN THE REDUCTION AREA, A LARGE NUMBER OF FORCES IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE USSR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00439 04 OF 12 181214Z

WOULD BE INVOLVED. THIS GEOGRAPHIC FACT CREATED A NEED FOR A PROVISION LIMITING THE USSR MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE REDUCTION AREA. UNDER AN AGREEMENT, THE VERY LARGE SOVIET STANDING FORCES IN THE ADJACENT USSR WOULD NOT BE LIMITED IN SIZE AND COULD EVEN INCREASE. WESTERN SECURITY WOULD BE SERIOUSLY DIMINISHED IF, AT THE SAME TIME, THE PROVISIONS OF AN AGREEMENT PREVENTED WESTERN

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 05 OF 12 181153Z

ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02

SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W

-----070089 181210Z /43

P R 181044Z JUL 78

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3104

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 5 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

PARTICIPANTS FROM MAINTAINING THE AGREED LEVEL IN THE AREA, OR LEFT THE USSR FREE TO INCREASE ITS FORCES WITHIN THE AREA AS WELL.

24. UK REP SAID THAT A FURTHER PROVISION REFLECTING THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR WOULD BE ONE, AS PROPOSED IN THE WESTERN APRIL 19 PROPOSALS, RESTRICTING SWESTERN COMMITMENTS ON ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT TO THOSE PROPOSED FOR THE US. NOT ONLY WERE THE ARMAMENTS REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS THE WEST HAD OFFERED FOR ITSELF AND ASKED OF THE EAST PART

OF AN EQUITABLE BALANCE OF OBLIGATIONS ON EITHER SIDE.
BUT THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR WAS A MAJOR REASON WHY THE WEST
WANTED SUCH A PHASE I PROVISION. WESTERN REPS TOOK THIS
POSITION IN VIEW OF THE STOCKS OF ARMAMENTS IN THE ADJACENT
SOVIET UNION, WHICH WAS ALREADY VERY LARGE AND COULD
INCREASE FURTHER.

25. UK REP STATED THAT THE NEXT POINT WAS A

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 05 OF 12 181153Z

PROVISION WHOSE PRACTICAL EFFECT WOULD BE TO ELIMINATE
THE EAST'S NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER
IN THE REDUCTION AREA. SUCH A PROVISION WAS FULLY
JUSTIFIED ON ITS OWN MERITS. BUT THE EFFECT OF GEOGRAPHY
RENDERED SUCH A PROVISION ALL THE MORE ESSENTIAL,
BECAUSE SOVIET TERRITORY DIRECT ADJOINED THE AREA,
THERE WERE VERY LARGE FORCES ON THAT TERRITORY, THEY
WOULD NOT BE LIMITED IN SIZE BY AN AGREEMENT, AND THEY
ENJOYED A WIDE VARIETY OF DIRECT MEANS OF ACCESS INTO THE
AREA.

26. UK REP SAID THAT WESTERN REPS HAD IN ADDITION
POINTED OUT TO THE EAST ON MANY OCCASIONS THAT THE
GEOGRAPHIC SITUATIONS OF VARIOUS PARTICIPANTS WERE
DIFFERENT AND THAT THESE DIFFERENCES HAD A DIRECT IMPACT
ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REDUCTION AND LIMITATION
OBLIGATIONS TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN AN AGREEMENT. IN THE
WEST'S VIEW, EASTERN FAILURE TO TAKE GEOGRAPHY INTO
ACCOUNT IN THE PROVISIONS OF AN AGREEMENT WAS A MAJOR
UNDERLYING SOURCE OF MANY OF THE DEFICIENCIES IN THE
EASTERN JUNE 8 PROPOSALS. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HOPED
THAT THIS EXPLANATION OF HOW AGREEMENT PROVISIONS SHOULD
TAKE ACCOUNT OF GEOGRAPHY WOULD BE HELPFUL IN BRINGING
PROGRESS ON THIS PROBLEM.

27. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT, THANKS TO THE INITIATIVE
OF THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS OF 8 JUNE, THE POINTS OF VIEW OF
THE SIDES HAD BECOME CLOSER ALSO IN SOME OTHER ASPECTS OF A
FUTURE AGREEMENT. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES BELIEVED THAT, IF
THE WEST APPROACHED THE NEW PROPOSALS IN A POSITIVE SPIRIT
AND TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE FACT THAT THE RAPPROCHMENT OF THE
POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES WAS NOW BEING OUTLINED IN A WHOLE
RANGE OF VERY IMPORTANT, FUNDAMENTAL ITEMS, PARTICIPANTS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 05 OF 12 181153Z

COULD PROCEED TO THE PRACTICAL PREPARATION OF THE TEXT OF THE

FUTURE AGREEMENT IN THE NEXT ROUND. IT WAS, OF COURSE, QUITE NATURAL THAT THE EAST'S PROPOSALS OF 8 JUNE COULD NOT HAVE ENVISAGED ALL THE DETAILS OF A FUTURE UNDERSTANDING. PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE TO AGREE NOT ONLY ON THE QUESTIONS WHICH WERE INCLUDED IN THOSE PROPOSALS, BUT ALSO UPON A NUMBER OF OTHER CONCRETE ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT UNDER CONSIDERATION. IN PRESENTING THEIR PROPOSALS, THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE IN NO WAY GUIDED BY THE EVERTHING OR NOTHING PRINCIPLE. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE PREPARED TO CONSIDER TENTATIVELY ALL CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS WHICH MIGHT BE RAISED BY THEIR PARTNERS. BUT, AS ALWAYS BEFORE, A CRITERION TO BE USED IN THE EVALUATION OF THESE IDEAS WOULD BE THE DEGREE TO WHICH THEY MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO MOVEMENT TO AN EFFECTIVE REDUCTION OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, SECURING A GENUINE MILITARY RELAXATION IN THAT AREA AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF ALL PARTICIPANTS.

28. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT, IN THIS CONNECTION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WISHED WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE TO CLEARLY REALIZE THAT THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES REGARDED A WHOLE NUMBER OF PROVISIONS AS INDISPENSABLE ATTRIBUTES OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT, WITHOUT THE OBSERVANCE OF WHICH SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD NOT ONLY HAVE NO AUTHORITY, BUT WOULD RATHER DECEIVE THE EUROPEAN AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD PARTICULARLY IN MIND THE FOLLOWING:

29. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT, FIRST, THE COMMITMENTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN NOT ONLY BY THE USSR AND THE USA BUT ALSO

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 06 OF 12 181254Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----070729 181255Z /53

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3105
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

S E C R E T SECTION 6 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

BY THE OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD EFFECTIVELY GUARANTEE, ALREADY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A STAGE 1 AGREEMENT THAT THE REDUCTIONS WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL AND THAT THEY WOULD UNAVOIDABLY TAKE PLACE. IT WAS FOR THIS VERY REASON THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD PROPOSED THAT THIS AGREEMENT SHOULD SPECIFY CONCRETE VOLUMES OF REDUCTIONS NOT ONLY FOR THE USSR AND THE USA BUT ALSO FOR THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. IT WAS HOWEVER UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THE FIXING OF SUCH COMMITMENTS DID NOT MEAN THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE DEMANDING THE ESTABLISHMENT, IN THE OUTCOME OF REDUCTIONS, OF NATIONAL CEILINGS ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF EACH OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. AS EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD ALREADY SAID IN THE SESSION, THE REDUCED LEVEL OF THE FORCES OF THE SIDES WOULD BE MAINTAINED ON A COLLECTIVE BASIS.

30. CZECHOSLOVAK REP CONTINUED THAT, SECOND, ALL PROVISIONS OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT SHOULD CORRESPOND TO THE OBJECTIVES OF AN EFFECTIVE REDUCTION OF FORCES. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD HAD THIS REQUIREMENT IN MIND FOR EXAMPLE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 06 OF 12 181254Z

WHEN THEY HAD SAID IN THEIR NEW PROPOSALS THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLLECTIVE LEVELS SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO RESTORE THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR ARMED FORCES WHICH THEY HAD BEFORE THE REDUCTIONS. IF SUCH A PROVISION WERE NOT ENVISAGED BY A FUTURE AGREEMENT, IT WOULD MEAN THAT PARTICIPANTS WOULD NOT BE DEALING WITH THE REDUCTIONS, BUT WITH THE PROVISION OF AGREED CONDITIONS PERMITTING ONE OR ANOTHER STAGE TO INCREASE, ON A LEGAL BASIS, ITS FORCES ABOVE THE LEVEL IT HAD BEFORE THE REDUCTIONS.

31. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT, THIRD, THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE AGREEMENT SHOULD STRICTLY OBSERVE THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY OF REDUCTIONS. THIS SHOULD FIND ITS EXPRESSION IN ALL THE PROVISIONS IN WHICH THE COMMITMENTS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES WOULD BE FORMULATED. ESTABLISHMENT OF COLLECTIVE LEVELS FOR THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS BELONGING TO ONE OR ANOTHER GROUPING THUS SHOULD IN PARTICULAR INDICATE THAT THEY WOULD APPLY TO ALL PARTICIPATING STATES ON AN EQUAL AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS. IN THIS RESPECT, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE OF THE OPINION THAT NATIONAL CEILINGS NEED NOT BE ESTABLISHED FOR ANY STATE, NOT EVEN FOR THE USSR AND THE USA. IF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WANTED TO ESTABLISH SUCH CEILINGS FOR THESE TWO STATES, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE PREPARED TO COMPLY EVEN WITH SUCH A WISH; HOWEVER, ON THE

CONDITION THAT SUCH CEILINGS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR ALL OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

32. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT, FOURTH, THE INTEREST OF THE EFFECTIVE REDUCTIONS AND OF THE OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY REQUIRED THAT, TOGETHER WITH MANPOWER, THE REDUCTIONS PROCESS SHOULD ALSO EMBRACE ARMAMENTS. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE OF THE OPINION THAT, IN THE COURSE OF THE STAGE 2 NEGOTIATIONS, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONSIDER
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 06 OF 12 181254Z

THE QUESTION OF THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS OF THE OTHER STATES AND ALSO TO AGREE UPON ALL THE CONCRETE ASPECTS OF THIS PROBLEM, SUCH AS THE TYPES OF REDUCED ARMAMENTS, THE METHOD OF REDUCTIONS OF THOSE ARMAMENTS, AS WELL AS THE QUESTION OF LIMITATIONS FOR THE REMAINING ARMAMENTS OF THE TYPE REDUCED. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE PREPARED TO APPROACH ALL THESE QUESTIONS IN THE SAME CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER AS THEY DID WITH RESPECT TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS IN THE FIRST STAGE. AS A MATTER OF FACT, PUBLIC OPINION IN NO COUNTRY WOULD

BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE HUGE ARSENAL OF ARMAMENTS WHICH WERE ACCUMULATED IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE WERE NOT SUBJECT TO REDUCTIONS.

33. CZECHOSLOVAK REP CONTINUED THAT, FIFTH, IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND TO AVOID A REDUCTION WHICH WOULD IN FACT SERVE AS A COVER FOR AN INCREASE IN THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMIES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, IT WAS IN THE OPINION OF THE EAST NECESSARY THAT REDUCTIONS BE CARRIED OUT BY FORMATIONS, UNITS AND SUBUNITS. THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE PREPARED TO CARRY OUT SUCH A REDUCTION. IN THEIR VIEW, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AGREE UPON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE METHOD OF REDUCTIONS FOR ALL STATES UNDER WHICH THE REDUCTIONS COULD BE CARRIED OUT NOT BY INDIVIDUAL SERVICEMEN BUT BY ENTIRE MILITARY UNITS.

34. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT, SIXTH, IN ADDITION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES REGARDED IT AS NECESSARY, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE CONDITIONS OF A FUTURE AGREEMENT, TO AGREE ALREADY NOW UPON A NON-INCREASE OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES OF ANY PARTICIPANT FOR THE PERIOD OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

35. CZECHOSLOVAK REP CONTINUED THAT, AS THE EXPERIENCE OF NEGOTIATIONS DEALING WITH VARIOUS ARMS RACE LIMITATION QUESTIONS AND DISARMAMENT SHOWED, THE PROPOSALS OF ONE'S

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 07 OF 12 181318Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----071047 181321Z /43

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3106
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 7 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

PARTNER MIGHT BE APPROACHED IN DIFFERENT WAYS. IT WAS POSSIBLE AFTER HAVING STUDIES SUCH PROPOSALS TO REMOVE FROM THEM EVERYTHING WHICH WAS A PART OF THE VITAL INTEREST OF THE AUTHORS OF THE PROPOSAL, WHICH WOULD MEAN APPROACHING THEM UNILATERALLY. HOWEVER, THERE WAS ALSO ANOTHER WAY TO APPROACH THE PROPOSALS OF OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS CONSTRUCTIVELY, WITH A DESIRE TO FIND A COMMON BASIS FOR AN UNDERSTANDING. THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD CHOSEN THE SECOND ALTERNATIVE. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE OF THE OPINION THAT ALL STATES WOULD BENEFIT FROM THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. PROCEEDING FROM THAT, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD PREPARED THEIR PROPOSALS OF 8 JUNE. IF THE FIRST MENTIONED WAY WERE TAKEN, THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS WOULD INEVITABLY FIND THEMSELVES AGAIN AT AN IMPASSE. THE NEAREST FUTURE SHOULD SHOW WHICH OF THE TWO WAYS WOULD BE CHOSEN BY THE WEST.

36. DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, US DEPREP SAID THAT WESTERN REPS WELCOMED THE FACT THAT AMBASSADOR TARASOV HAD REPLIED AT THE LAST SESSION TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 07 OF 12 181318Z

WESTERN QUESTIONS NUMBERS 6 AND 7 OF JULY 4 AS TO WHY THE EAST HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE CONCEPT OF EQUALITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER AND THE COMMON CEILING AT THE OUTSET AND AS TO WHY EASTERN AUTHORITIES HAD INSTRUCTED WARSAW PACT DELEGATIONS TO PRESS IN

THE SPRING OF 1976 FOR THE EXCLUSION FROM COUNTING OF A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF WARSAW PACT MILITARY PERSONNEL. BUT WESTERN REPS HAD NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD HIS ANSWERS. WESTERN REPS HAD ALREADY POINTED OUT WHY THEIR DOUBTS HAD NOT BEEN SATISFIED BY AMBASSADOR TARASOV'S REPLY TO THEIR QUESTION AS TO WHY THE EAST COULD NOT ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF PARITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER AT THE OUTSET OF THESE TALKS. THEY HAD ALSO NOT BEEN SATISFIED BY HIS ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION, NUMBER 7. WESTERN REPS THEREFORE INTENDED TO RETURN TO THESE ISSUES AT A LATER TIME.

37. US DEP REP STATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE NOW TO ANSWER THE EIGHTH QUESTION WHICH EASTERN REPS HAD ASKED ON JULY 11 REGARDING WESTERN DATA. REFERRING TO THE STAFFS OF THE TERRITORIAL ARMY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AMBASSADOR OESER HAD ASKED IF THE EASTERN UNDERSTANDING WAS CORRECT THAT THE WEST HAD ALLOCATED TO THE SECOND CATEGORY THE PERSONNEL OF HEADQUARTERS HIGHER THAN THE REGIONAL AND DISTRICT STAFFS AND OF THE UNITS AND SUBUNITS SUBORDINATE TO THESE HIGHER HEADQUARTERS. THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS THAT THE EASTERN UNDERSTANDING WAS CORRECT.

38. US DEP REP SAID THAT WESTERN REPS NOW HAD SOME FURTHER REMARKS ON EASTERN DATA. IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF JULY 11, EASTERN REPS HAD INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS FURTHER THE CONTENTS OF LIST B, WHICH WESTERN REPS HAD GIVEN TO THE EAST EARLIER IF THE MAJOR SUBDIVISIONS ON THIS LIST WERE REMOVED. THE WEST HAD NOW DONE THIS. THE WEST HAD NOW PREPARED A LIST FOR SOVIET GROUND FORCES WHICH WAS BASED ON THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 07 OF 12 181318Z

TWO EARLIER LISTS, A AND B. (AT THIS POINT EASTERN REPS WERE HANDED COPIES OF LIST D.) THIS NEW LIST, LIST D, REPRESENTED THE WEST'S UNDERSTANDING, ON THE BASIS OF WHAT EASTERN REPS HAD SAID, OF THE UNITS WHICH THE EAST HAD INCLUDED IN ITS COUNT OF SOVIET GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

39. US DEP REP STATED THAT WESTERN REPS WOULD RETURN TO DISCUSSION OF THE CONTENT OF THIS LIST IN THE FUTURE. AT THE SESSION, THEY WOULD, HOWEVER, LIKE TO MAKE ONE GENERAL COMMENT REGARDING THIS LIST AND THE FIGURES WHICH THE EAST HAD PRESENTED ON MARCH 15 FOR SOVIET GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA. IT WAS WESTERN REPS UNDERSTANDING FROM EASTERN STATEMENTS THAT THE EAST HAD INCLUDED IN ITS FIGURE OF 34,600 MEN FOR SOVIET GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN MAJOR FORMATIONS ALL PERSONNEL IN ALL UNITS AND SUBUNITS SHOWN IN ITEMS 1, 2, AND 3 ON LIST D. IT WAS THEIR UNDERSTANDING FROM EASTERN STATEMENTS THAT THE SOVIET MAJOR FORMATIONS FIGURE ALSO INCLUDED ALL PERSONNEL IN THOSE UNITS AND SUBUNITS LISTED IN ITEMS 4 AND 5 WHICH WERE SUBORDINATE TO SOVIET ARMES AND TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE GROUPS

OF SOVIET FORCES IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

40. US DEPREP SAID THAT WESTERN REPS WERE HAVING DIFFICULTY IN UNDERSTANDING HOW A TOTAL OF ONLY 344,600 MEN COULD STAFF ALL OF THESE UNITS AND ELEMENTS ON THIS LIST D WHICH HE HAD JUST MENTIONED. SOME OF THE WEST'S REASONS WERE AS FOLLOWS: SOVIET FORCES STATIONED IN THE REDUCTION AREA WERE KNOWN TO BE IN A HIGH STATE OF READINESS. IT WAS WELL KNOWN THAT THERE WERE A TOTAL OF 27 SOVIET MOTORIZED RIFLE AND TANK DIVISIONS IN THE AREA. THE TOTAL STRENGTH OF ALL THESE DIVISIONS BY THEMSELVES WAS KNOWN TO BE ABOUT 300,000 MEN. EASTERN REPS HAD SAID THAT THE PERSONNEL OF ALL THESE SOVIET DIVISIONS WERE INCLUDED IN THE CATEGORY OF MAJOR FORMATIONS. THEREFORE, IT

DID NOT SEEM POSSIBLE THAT THE REMAINING FIGURE OF ABOUT 50,000 MEN WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO STAFF ALL THE OTHER UNITS, SUBUNITS, FORMATIONS, AND COMMANDS THAT EASTERN REPS HAD INDICATED WERE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00439 07 OF 12 181318Z

INCLUDED IN THE MAJOR FORMATIONS CATEGORY. WESTERN REPS WOULD INVITED EASTERN REPS TO COMMONT OF THIS TOPIC.

41. US DEPREP STATED THAT, AS EASTERN REPS KNEW, THE WEST HAD INFORMALLY INDICATED THAT THE LARGEST DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN WESTERN FIGURES AND EASTERN FIGURES FOR EASTERN MILITARY MANPOWER WERE IN SOVIET AND POLISH FORCES. WESTERN REPS HAD PREPARED A LIST WHICH REPRESENTED THEIR UNDERSTANDING, AGAIN BASED ON WHAT EASTERN REPS HAD SAID, OF THE UNITS, SUBUNITS, FORMATIONS, AND COMMANDS WHOSE PERSONNEL HAD BEEN COUNTED BY THE EAST IN THE EAST-ERN FIGURE FOR POLISH GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN MAJOR FORMATIONS.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 08 OF 12 181300Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----070793 181303Z /53

P R 181044Z JUL 78

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3107
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 8 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

HERE WAS THAT LIST, WHICH PARTICIPANTS COULD CALL LIST E.

42. US DEPREP SAID THAT THE EASTERN FIGURE FOR POLISH GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN MAJOR FORMATIONS WAS 115,000 MEN. HERE AGAIN, AS WITH THE SOVIET FIGURE, WESTERN REPS COULD NOT UNDERSTAND HOW ALL OF THE MILITARY PERSONNEL IN ALL THE UNITS AND ELEMENTS ON THIS LIST COULD BE STAFFED BY ONLY 115,000 MEN. THE PROBLEMS WESTERN REPS WERE HAVING COULD BE ILLUSTRATED BY THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLE. AS WAS WELL KNOWN, THERE WERE A TOTAL OF 13 ACTIVE DUTY POLISH MECHANIZED DIVISIONS AND ARMORED DIVISIONS. IT WAS CLEAR FROM WHAT EASTERN REPS HAD SAID THAT THE PERSONNEL OF ALL THESE DIVISIONS HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE EASTERN FIGURE OF 115,000 MEN. EVEN ALLOWING FOR THE VARYING STRENGTHS OF THESE DIVISIONS, THEY WOULD AMOUNT TO ABOUT 90,000 TO 100,000 MEN. THEREFORE, WESTERN REPS FOUND IT HARD TO UNDERSTAND HOW THE REMAINING 25,000 MEN OR LESS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO ACCOUNT FOR ALL OF THE PERSONNEL OF OTHER UNITS, SUBUNITS, FORMATIONS AND COMMANDS DESCRIBED ON LIST E. WESTERN REPS WOULD INVITE EASTERN COMMENTS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 08 OF 12 181300Z

ON THIS TOPIC ALSO.

LIST "D"
(SOVIET FORCES)

UNITS #WHOSE PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN COUNTED IN EASTERN FIGURES FOR SOVIET GROUND FORCES.

1. ALL DIVISIONS
2. ALL SAM AND SSM BRIGADES, AND THE BERLIN BRIGADE.
3. ALL THE FOLLOWING

--SEPARATE TANK UNITS AND SUBUNITS
--SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE UNITS
--ARTILLERY UNITS
--AIR DEFENSE MISSILE UNITS
--SOVIET TRAINING UNITS AND SUBUNITS IN THE AREA.

4. ALL OF THE FOLLOWING SUBORDINATE EITHER CENTRALLY, TO

SOVIET ARMIES, OR TO THE GROUPS OF SOVIET FORCES IN POLAND
AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

--AIR DEFENSE ARTILLERY
--ARMY AVIATION
--MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
--SIGNAL
--RADIO TECHNICAL/RADIO ELECTRONICS
--UNITS FOR DEFENSE AGAINST WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION
--ENGINEER
--MEDICAL
--TRANSPORTATION
--REPAIR
--SUPPLY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 08 OF 12 181300Z

--GUARD

5. ALL MILITARY PERSONNEL PERFORMING THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF
FUNCTIONS SUBORDINATE EITHER CENTRALLY, TO SOVIET ARMIES, OR
TO THE GROUPS OF SOVIET FORCES IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

--PERFORMING GUARD DUTY FOR DEPOTS, BASES, AND MILITARY
INSTALLATIONS
--ASSIGNED TO FIRE BRIGADES FOR GARRISONS, BASES AND DEPOTS
--IN MAINTENANCE ENTERPRISES NOT BELONGING TO UNITS
BUT SEPARATE FROM THEM
--IN MILITARY TRADE ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS COMMISSARIES AND
POST EXCHANGES OR CANTEENS
--IN CONSTRUCTION UNITS CONCERNED WITH INFRASTRUCTURE SUCH
AS ROAD, BRIDGE, AND AIRFIELD CONSTRUCTION UNITS AND
ENTERPRISES
--IN CENTRAL MEDICAL SERVICES
--IN MILITARY TRANSPORTATION SERVICES
--ASSIGNED TO EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES FOR
TERRITORIAL FORCES
--IN MILITARY POST OFFICES AND MILITARY POSTAL SERVICES
--IN MILITARY TOPOGRAPHICAL SERVICES
--WORKING AS CLERKS, CASHIERS, CLEANING AND MAINTAINING
BUILDINGS, HEATING FACILITIES
--EMPLOYED IN OFFICERS' CLUBS, SOLDIERS' CLUBS, VARIOUS
KINDS OF ARTISTIC ENSEMBLES AND ORCHESTRAS (NOT MILITARY
BANDS), ATHLETIC GROUPS, AND RECREATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

(# THE WORD "UNITS" IS EMPLOYED IN ALL CASES IN THE GENERAL
SENSE TO REFER TO UNITS, SUBUNITS, FORMATIONS, AND COMMANDS.)

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 09 OF 12 181221Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----070442 181230Z /53

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3108
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 9 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

LIST "E"
(POLAND)

POLISH UNITS, SUBUNITS, FORMATIONS AND COMMANDS# WHOSE PERSONNEL
HAVE BEEN COUNTED IN MAJOR FORMATIONS

1. ALL UNITS OF FOLLOWING TYPES REGARDLESS OF SUBORDINATION

--MECHANIZED UNITS
--ARMORED UNITS
--AIRBORNE UNITS
--MISSILE (SSM) UNITS

2. ALL BRIGADES REGARDLESS OF TYPE

3. ALL UNITS OF THE FOLLOWING TYPES WHICH ARE SUBORDINATED TO
MILITARY DISTRICTS

--AIR DEFENSE ARTILLERY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 09 OF 12 181221Z

--ARMY AVIATION
--AIR DEFENSE MISSILE (SAM)
--MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

- SIGNAL
- ENGINEER
- RADIO TECHNICAL/RADIO ELECTRONICS
- UNITS FOR DEFENSE AGAINST WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION
- MEDICAL
- TRANSPORTATION
- REPAIR
- SUPPLY
- GUARDS

4. ALL PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO VOYEVODSHIP STAFFS

5. PERSONNEL PERFORMING THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF FUNCTIONS,
SUBORDINATE TO MILITARY DISTRICTS

- PERFORMING GUARD DUTY FOR DEPOTS, BASES, AND MILITARY
INSTALLATIONS
- ASSIGNED TO FIRE BRIGADES FOR GARRISONS, BASES, AND
DEPOTS
- FOR MAINTENANCE ENTERPRISES, NOT BELONGING TO UNITS
BUT SEPARATE FROM THEM
- IN MILITARY TRADE ORGANIZATIONS
- IN CENTRAL MEDICAL SERVICES
- IN MILITARY TRANSPORTATION SERVICES
- ASSIGNED TO EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES
FOR TERRITORIAL FORCES
- IN MILITARY POST OFFICES AND MILITARY POSTAL SERVICES
- IN MILITARY TOPOGRAPHICAL SERVICES
- WORKING AS CLERKS, CASHIERS, CLEANING AND MAINTAINING
BUILDUP AND/OR HEATING FACILITIES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 09 OF 12 181221Z

- EMPLOYED IN OFFICERS' CLUBS, SOLDIERS' CLUBS, VARIOUS
KINDS OF ARTISTIC ENSEMBLES AND ORCHESTRAS, ATHLETIC
GROUPS, AND RECREATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

(# THE WORD "UNITS" IS EMPLOYED IN ALL CASES IN THE GENERAL
SENSE TO REFER TO UNITS, SUBUNITS, FORMATIONS, AND COMMANDS.)

43. TARASOV SAID THE DATA DISCUSSION HAD BEEN
TAKING A CONSIDERABLE PLACE IN THE PRESENT ROUND. WHAT
CONCLUSIONS COULD BE DRAWN AS A RESULT OF THIS DISCUSSION?
THIS DISCUSSION HAD CONFIRMED ONCE AGAIN THAT THE WEST
WAS UNABLE TO PROVE THE FOUNDEDNESS OF ITS ASSERTIONS
ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF THE SO CALLED DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCE
MANPOWER IN FAVOR OF THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. THE EAST WAS
NOT SURPRISED AT THIS FACT SINCE IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO PROVE
ANYTHING WHICH DID NOT EXIST IN REALITY. IN SUCH A SITUATION,
IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A NATURAL THING TO EXPECT THAT THE WEST WOULD
UNDERTAKE A LOGICAL STEP, THAT IS, THAT IT WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE

THE REALITY OF THE EXISTENCE OF APPROXIMATE PARTIY IN THE
NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE 2 SIDES IN CENTRAL
EUROPE. THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD NOT DONE THIS SO FAR.
APPARENTLY, THEY WERE NOT PREPARED TO INTRODUCE SUBSTANTIAL
CORRECTIONS IN THEIR POSITION. AS EASTERN PARTICIPANTS SAW IT,
CONTINUATION OF THE DATA DISCUSSION IN THE FORM IN WHICH IT HAD
BEEN PURSUED IN THE PRESENT ROUND WAS BECOMING EVEN MORE POINT-
LESS, LEADING TO DRAGGING OUT THE NEGOTIATIONS. IF ONE
ANAYLZED THE NATURE OF THE QUESTIONS PUT BY THE WESTERN SIDE
IN THIS DATA DISCUSSION, ONE WOULD EASILY NOTICE THAT MANY OF
THEM HAD BEEN REPETITIOUS, WHILE SOME OF THEM WERE AIMED

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 10 OF 12 181131Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----069895 181136Z /15

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3109
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 10 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

AT DISCUSSING THE ORGANIZATIONAL STURCTURE OF THE FORCES.
SUCH A WAY OF DISCUSSION DID NOT OFFER ANY PROSPECT FOR
REACHING A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON DATA.

44. TARASOV SAID THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD
EXERTED EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE THE DATA DISCUSSION A
PRODUCTIVE ONE. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY HAD REPEATEDLY
ASKED WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO SHOW THE EAST SPECIFICALLY
IN WHICH WAY THE WEST HAD COUNTED THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH
OF THE FORCES OF THE WARSAW TREATY STATES. IN ANY EVENT, THIS
WOULD HAVE HELPED THE EAST TO EXPLAIN TO THE WEST WHERE AND
IN WHAT CASES THE WET WAS MISTAKEN IN COUNTING THE
EASTERN FORCES. IN RESPONSE, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES

HAD ONLY HEARD ASSERTIONS THAT THE WESTERN ASSESSMENTS OF EASTERN MANPOWER WERE FULL, ACCURATE, RELIABLE, AND SO FORTH. HOWEVER, IT WAS ABSOUTELY CLEAR THAT SUCH ASSERTIONS, WITHOUT BEING SUBSTANTIATED BY FACTS, COULD IN NO WAY BE CONSIDERED AS PROOF.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 10 OF 12 181131Z

45. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD ALSO INVITED THE WEST TO SUBMIT ITS ESTIMATES ON THE FORCE MANPOWER OF INDIVIDUAL EASTERN PARTICIPANTS. THIS WOULD HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO A MORE SPECIFIC DEFINITION OF THE POSSIBLE SOURCES OF THE DATA DISCREPANCIES. IF THE NATO COUNTRIES HAD COUNTED ALL EASTERN FORCES DOWN TO A SINGLE COMMAND, AS THEY CLAIMED THEY HAD DONE, THEN IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO STATE THEIR FIGURES ON THE FORCES OF EACH OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD NOT SO FAR RESPONDED TO THIS PROPOSAL.

46. TARASOV CONTINUED FINALLY, THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD EVERY GROUND TO BELIEVE THAT THE EXCHANGE OF THE PERCENTAGE OF FORCE MANNING LEVELS WOULD ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE DATA DISCUSSION. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD SUBMITTED A CORRESPONDING PROPOSAL AS FAR BACK AS 1977. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS, HOWEVER, HAD NOT GIVEN THEIR RESPONSE TO THIS PROPOSAL EITHER.

47. TARASOV SAID THE ACCEPTANCE OF THESE EASTERN PROPOSALS WOULD NOT IN FACT REQUIRE ANY RADICAL MOVES ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY MAKE DATA DISCUSSION MORE PURPOSEFUL AND WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE WEST TO COMPREHEND THE ACTUAL STATE OF AFFAIRS.

48. TARASOV SAID EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE DATA PROBLEM IN A BUSINESSLIKE WAY. THEY BELIEVED, HOWEVER, THAT THE MAJOR CONDITION FOR MAKING PROGRESS IN THIS DISCUSSION WAS A MORE SERIOUS AND WELL FOUNDED EXPLANATION BY THE WEST OF ITS ESTIMATES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 10 OF 12 181131Z

OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE WARSAW TREATY STATES' ARMED FORCES.

49. TARASOV SAID HE WOULD NOW LIKE TO ANSWER SOME
REMAINING QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE WEST. WESTERN REPS HAD ASKED WHETHE
R
THERE WERE, AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976, ANY ENGINEER, ENGINEER
CONSTRUCTION, RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION OR TRANSPORT UNITS AND
SUBUNITS IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE GDR, POLAND AND
CZECHOSLIVAKIA THAT WERE ON LOAN TO OTHER MINISTRIES AND
DEPARTMENTS AND WHOSE PERSONNEL HAD NOT BEEN COUNTED IN
THESE FIGURES.

50. TARASOV SAID THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WAS THAT,
AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976, IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE GDR, POLAND
AND CZECHOSLIVAKIA THERE WERE NO ENGINEER, ENGINEER CON-
STRUCTION, RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION, OR TRANSPORT UNITS AND
SUBUNITS WHO WERE ON LOAN TO OTHER MINISTRIES AND DEPART-
MENTS AND WHOLSE PERSONNEL WERE NOT COUNTED IN THE EASTERN
FIGURES. AS FAR AS POLAND WAS CONCERNED, THE CORRESPONDING
CONSTRUCTION ROAD AND RAIL CONSTRUCTION UNITS WERE THE
TERRITORIAL DEFENSE UNITS. EASTERN REPS HAD REPEATEDLY
EXPLAINED TO THE WEST THE METHOD OF HOW THESE PERSONNEL HAD
BEEN COUNTED.

51. TARASOV SAID THE OTHER QUESTION ASKED BY WESTERN
REPS WAS OF A MORE GENERAL NATURE AND PERTAINED TO THE
FIGURES ON THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE EASTERN
PARTICIPANTS AS A WHOLE. AS REGARDS THE WESTERN UNDERSTANDING
THAT ALL MILITARY PERSONNEL OF THE UNITS, SUBUNITS AND
COMMANDS OF THE TYPES ENUMERATED IN LIST A HAD BEEN COUNTED
IN THE EASTERN FIGURES FOR GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 11 OF 12 181207Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00 /094 W
-----070249 181211Z /43

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3110
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 11 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

OF THE USSR, POLAND, GDR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THIS WESTERN UNDERSTANDING WAS CRRECT. NATURALLY, UNDER THE CONDITION THAT SUCH UNITS, SUBUNITS AND COMMANDS WERE PART OF THE GROUND OR AIR FORCES.

52. TARASOV CONTINUED, THAT, AS CONCERNED THE WESTERN QUESTION PERTAINING TO LIST B, EASTERN REPS WELCOMED THE FACT THAT THE WEST HAD SUBSTITUTED THE PRESENT LIST AND EASTERN REPS WOULD PRODUCE THEIR ANSWERS TO ALL OF WESTERN REPS' QUESTIONS LATER ON.

53. TARASOV SAID EASTERN REPS ALSO WISHED TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF WESTERN REPS TO SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR ANSWERS TO EASTERN QUESTIONS WHICH REMAINED UNCLEAR TO EASTERN REPS, BUT WHICH EASTERN REPS CONSIDERED IMPORTANT FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF WESTERN FIGURES ON THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NATO AND WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES.

54. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT, FIRST, IN ANSWERING THE EAST'S
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 11 OF 12 181207Z

QUESTIONS REGARDING CIVILIAN PERSONNEL OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE NATO COUNTRIES WHO COULD FILL PEACETIME MILITARY POSITIONS, WESTERN REPS HAD INDICATED THAT SUCH POSITIONS EXISTED ONLY IN THE FRG ARMED FORCES. IT SEEMED TO EASTERN REPS THAT THIS WAS NOT QUITE THE CASE. THIS WAS WHY THEY WOULD LIKE TO CLARIFY WHAT CRITERIA THE WEST HAD CHOSEN FOR DEFINING MILITARY POSITIONS WHICH COULD BE FILLED BY CIVILIAN PERSONNEL IN THE FRG ARMED FORCES.

55. TARASOV SAID THAT, SECOND, WESTERN REPS HAD ALSO INDICATED THAT THEY HAD COUNTED ALL UNIFORMED ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL EITHER ACTUALLY LOCATED IN THE REDUCTION AREA OR ASSIGNED TO THE AREA BUT TEMPORARILY ABSENT. IN THIS, EASTERN REPS WERE PROCEEDING FROM US REP'S STATEMENT ON 22 FEBRUARY 1977 AND FROM FRG REP'S STATEMENT ON MARCH 1, 1978. AT THE SAME TIME, AS WESTERN REPS HAD POINTED OUT, MILITARY PERSONNEL LOCATED IN TRAINING GROUNDS AND TRAINING CENTERS SITUATED OUTSIDE THE REDUCTION AREA HAD BEEN EXCLUDED FROM WESTERN FIGURES. EASTERN REPS WOULD LIKE TO KNOW ON WHAT BASIS THE WEST HAD CHOSEN FOR EXCLUDING THESE PERSONNEL, WHO WERE ASSIGNED TO THE REDUCTION AREA BUT WHO WERE ONLY TEMPORARILY OUTSIDE.

56. TARASOV SAID THAT WESTERN REPS HAD STATED THAT THEY HAD EXCLUDED FROM THEIR FIGURES FOR THE NATO FORCE

MANPOWER PERSONNEL OF THE BORDER GUARDS AND POLICE ORGANIZATIONS WITH INTERNAL SECURITY FUNCTIONS. BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN IT CAME TO THE SIMILAR PERSONNEL OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES, WESTERN REPS STATED THAT THEY HAD NOT INCLUDED IN THEIR ESTIMATES PERSONNEL WHOM THEY BELIEVED TO BE IN THESE CATEGORIES. EASTERN REPS HAD ALSO NOTED THAT IN WESTERN REPLIES GIVEN ON JULY 11 CONCERNING EXCLUSIONS FROM THE WESTER FIGURES ON THE PERSONNEL OF
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 11 OF 12 181207Z

BORDER GUARD TROOPS, FORMATIONS OF OTHER MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS, AS WELL AS THE PERSONNEL PROTECTING ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE GDR, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA,

WESTERN REPS HAD STATED THAT THEY HAD EXCLUDED THE PERSONNEL OF THE CITED ORGANIZATIONS AS FAR AS THEY COULD IDENTIFY THEM AS BELONGING TO THOSE ORGANIZATIONS OR, IN ANY CASE, THEY HAD TRIED TO EXCLUDE AS MANY OF THEM AS POSSIBLE.

57. US DEP REP SAID THAT THE WESTERN REPS HAD MADE NO STATEMENT SUCH AS THIS LAST ONE IN THE JULY 11 INFORMAL SESSION. WHAT HAD BEEN SAID WAS THAT THE WEST HAD MADE A BONA FIDE OR GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO EXCLUDE THE PERSONNEL OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS.

58. TARASOV ASKED, HAD NOT WESTERN REPS SAID ON JULY 11 THAT THEY HAD EXCLUDED SUCH PERSONNEL AS FAR AS THEY COULD IDENTIFY THEM AS BELONGING TO THESE ORGANIZATIONS. US DEP REP SAID THIS WAS CORRECT.

59. TARASOV CONTINUED THAT THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION COULD BE DRAWN FROM SUCH STATEMENTS THAT SOME PART OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE CITED CATEGORIES HAD BEEN INCLUDED BY THE WEST IN THE OVERALL FIGURES OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW TREATY. IN THIS CONNECTION, EASTERN REPS WOULD LIKE TO ASK ON WHICH BASIS AND PROCEEDING FROM WHICH CRITERION THIS HAD BEEN DONE?

60. US DEPREP SAID THA HE WANTED TO GIVE A PRELIMINARY REPLY TO THESE QUESTIONS IN THE INTEREST OF ADVANCING THE WORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. NATURALLY, WESTERN REPS RESERVED THE RIGHT TO RETURN TO THESE QUESTIONS LATER AND GIVE MORE COMPLETE ANSWERS THEN. US DEP REP SAID THE FIRST QUESTION CONCERNED POSITIONS IN THE FRG THAT COULD BE FILLED EITHER BY CIVILIANS OR BY MILITARY PERSONNEL. WHESTERN REPSHAD ANSWERED THE EAST'S QUESTIONS ON THIS SUBJECT BEFORE, BUT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00439 11 OF 12 181207Z

THEY WOULD TRY AGAIN. THERE WAS A NUMBER OF POSITIONS IN THE FRG FORCES WHICH HAD SPECIFICALLY BEEN DESIGNATED AS POSITIONS WHICH COULD BE FILLED EITHER BY MILITARY PERSONNEL OR CIVILIANS. WESTERN REPS HAD REPEATEDLY STATED THAT THESE POSITIONS HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE COUNT OF FRG FORCES. WESTERN REPS HAD ALSO SAID THAT THERE WERE NO OTHER NATO COUNTRIES WHOSE FORCES HAD SIMILAR POSITIONS.

61. TARASOV ASKED WHETHER WESTERN REPS MEANT THAT GERMAN LEGISLATION HAD ENVISAGED A CERTAIN NUMBER OF POSITIONS WHICH COULD BE FILLED EITHER BY CIVILIAN PERSONNEL OR BY MILITARY SERVICEMEN, WHILE THE LEGISLATION OR OTHER AUTHORITIES OF THE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES DID NOT PROVIDE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH POSITIONS.

62. US DEP REP SAID THAT THIS WAS SUBSTANTIALLY CORRECT. HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS TYPE OF PERSONNEL WAS PROVIDED FOR IN FRG FORCES BY LEGISLATION OR BY EXECUTIVE INSTRUCTION, OR WHETHER, IN THE CASES OF COUNTRIES OTHER THAN THE FRG, IT WAS A QUESTION OF LEGISLATION OR NOT. BUT THE FRG WAS THE ONLY WESTERN COUNTRY WHICH HAD ESTABLISHED SUCH POSITIONS.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00439 12 OF 12 191023Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /094 W
-----089339 191032Z /16-53

P R 181044Z JUL 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3111
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 12 OF 12 MBFR VIENNA 0439

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y TEXT PARAGRAPH 66 LINE 9

(OPERATING VICE OPERATED AS)

63. TARASOV SAID THAT EASTERN REPS WERE NOT NOW INTERESTED IN THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A CATEGORY WAS INCLUDED IN OR EXCLUDED FROM THE COUNT. AS THEY UNDERSTOOD PREVIOUS WESTERN STATEMENTS, IT WAS THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS CATEGORY OF POSITIONS HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE COUNT. WHAT EASTERN REPS WERE INTERESTED IN NOW, WAS WHETHER THERE EXISTED THE POSSIBILITY THAT, UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, SOME PART OF THE MILITARY POSITIONS OF THE FORCES OF OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS COULD BE FILLED BY CIVILIAN PERSONNEL AND NOT BY MILITARY PERSONNEL AS WAS NOW THE CASE. NATURALLY, EASTERN REPS WOULD NOT INSIST THAT THEY GET A COMPLETE ANSWER AT THIS TIME. THEY WOULD LIKE WESTERN DELEGATIONS TO CLARIFY THE ISSUE AMONG THEMSELVES AND INFORM THE EAST ABOUT IT LATER.

64. US DEPREP SAID THAT WESTERN REPS WOULD DO THIS. HE ADDED THAT HE ASSUMED THAT THE QUESTION WAS CONNECTED WITH THE PROVISION
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00439 12 OF 12 191023Z

IN THE EAST'S JUNE 8 PROPOSALS TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF CIVILIANS IN FORCES.

65. TARASOV SAID THAT WAS NOT THE CASE. THE PRESENT EASTERN QUESTION WAS CONNECTED WITH VERIFYING EASTERN ESTIMATES OF THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES OF NATO COUNTRIES, BECAUSE, ACCORDING TO EASTERN INFORMATION, SUCH POSITIONS EXISTED NOT ONLY IN THE FORCES OF THE FRG BUT ALSO IN THOSE OF OTHER WESTERN PARTICIPANTS.

66. US DEPREP SAID THAT WESTERN REPS WOULD LOOK INTO THIS QUESTION. US DEPREP CONTINUED, THAT AS FAR AS THE EAST'S SECOND QUESTION WAS CONCERNED, THIS QUESTION ALSO HAD BEEN ANSWERED BEFORE. AS WESTERN REPS HAD SAID IN REPLY, THEY INCLUDED ALL PERSONNEL THAT WERE EITHER ACTUALLY IN THE AREA, OR WERE ASSIGNED TO UNITS THAT WERE IN THE AREA, BUT WHO WERE THEMSELVES TEMPORARILY ABSENT FROM THE AREA. WESTERN REPS HAD STATED THAT THERE WAS A SMALL NUMBER OF UNITS WHICH WERE PERMANENTLY LOCATED OUTSIDE THE REDUCTION AREA. THESE WERE UNITS OPERATING TRAINING FACILITIES. BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT ASSIGNED TO THE AREA, THEY HAD NOT BEEN INCLUDED IN THE COUNT.

67. TARASOV SAID THAT HE WANTED TO CLARIFY THE EASTERN UNDERSTANDING ON THIS QUESTION. WAS IT CORRECT TO CONCLUDE THAT IF THERE WERE, FOR EXAMPLE, 100 MEN WHO CAME FROM DIFFERENT SUBUNITS OF A BRIGADE WHICH WAS SITUATED IN THE REDUCTION AREA, BUT WHO WERE IN TRAINING GROUNDS AND TRAINING CENTERS OUTSIDE THE AREA, THEN THE WEST HAD INCLUDED THESE PERSONNEL IN THEIR COUNT. IF, HOWEVER, THERE WAS A WHOLE COMPANY OF THAT BRIGADE WHICH WAS LOCATED IN TRAINING GROUNDS OR TRAINING CENTERS OUTSIDE THE AREA,

THEN THE WEST HAD NOT INCLUDED IT IN ITS COUNT?

68. US DEPREP REPEATED THAT PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO UNITS WHICH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00439 12 OF 12 191023Z

WERE LOCATED IN THE AREA BUT TEMPORARILY ABSENT FROM THE AREA
HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN THE COUNT. HE ADDED, THAT HE HAS NOT AWARE
THAT ANY UNITS OF THE EXACT TYPE
DESCRIBED BY THE SOVIET REP WERE PERMANENTLY LOCATED OUTSIDE
THE AREA.

69. TARASOV SAID THAT IF THE DISCUSSION CONCERNED MILITARY
PERSONNEL WHO WERE NOT ASSIGNED TO UNITS AND SUBUNITS LOCATED IN
THE REDUCTION AREA, THEN IT WAS PERFECTLY NATURAL THAT THE EAST
WAS NOT ASKING ABOUT SUCH PERSONNEL. RATHER, EASTERN REPS WERE
ASKING ABOUT THOSE PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MILITARY UNITS AND
SUBUNITS LOCATED IN THE REDUCTION AREA BUT TEMPORARILY ABSENT
FROM THE AREA IN TRAINING GROUNDS OR CENTERS.

70. US DEPREP SAID THAT THESE PERSONNEL HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN
THE WESTERN COUNT.

71. TARASOV SAID THAT THE QUESTION HAD ARISEN BECAUSE WESTERN
REPS HAD STATED THAT THEY HAD EXCLUDED FROM THE COUNT MILITARY
PERSONNEL LOCATED IN TRAINING GROUNDS AND TRAINING CENTERS
OUTSIDE THE AREA ON A PERMANENT BASIS.

72. US DEP REP SAID THAT THIS WAS EXACTLY WHAT HE WAS TRYING
TO EXPLAIN. THAT THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PERSONNEL
TEMPORARILY OUTSIDE THE AREA BUT ASSIGNED TO UNITS IN THE AREA
AND UNITS PERMANENTLY LOCATED OUTSIDE THE AREA.

73. EASTERN REPS SAID THEY STILL DID NOT UNDERSTAND. US DEP REP
SAID WESTERN REPS WOULD GIVE A FULLER RESPONSE LATER.

74. US DEP REP THEN TURNED TO THE THIRD QUESTION AND SAID THAT,
WHILE WESTERN REPS MIGHT TRY TO GIVE A MORE COMPLETE ANSEWER TO
THIS QUESTION, IT WAS DOUBTFUL THAT THEY WOULD GOV VERY MUCH
BEYOND WHAT HE WAS ABOUT TO SAY: WESTERN REPS HAD NOT KNOWINGLY
COUNTED ANY PERSONNEL IN UNITS OF THE TYPE MENTIONED IN THE THIRD
QUESTION IN THE WESTERN FIGURES FOR WARSAW PACT MILITARY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00439 12 OF 12 191023Z

MANPOWER.

75. US DEP REP SAID THAT HE WISHED TO POINT OUT IN CONCLUSION

THAT TARASOV HAD SUGGESTED IN HIS REMARKS THAT THE WEST SHOULD
SUPPLY NEW MATERIAL FOR THE DATA DISCUSSION ON EASTERN FORCES.
WESTERN REPS HAD DONE SO IN TODAY'S INFORMAL SESSION AND THEY
HOPED THAT THIS CONTRIBUTION WOULD HELP THE DATA DISCUSSION.

76. TARASOV SAID THAT EASTERN REPS WOULD, OF COURSE, ANALYZE
THESE POINTS.

77. THE SESSION WAS CONCLUDED.DEAN

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MBFRV00439
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780294-0484
Format: TEL
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780748/aaaabomq.tel
Line Count: 1583
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5a325171-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 29
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 feb 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1972350
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES OF JULY 17, 1978
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5a325171-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014